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THE LOGIC *of* SOCIALISM

BY
AUGUST CLAESSENS



NEW YORK
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THE LOGIC OF SOCIALISM

By
AUGUST CLAESSENS

NEW YORK
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July 1, 1921
Harvard University,
Dept. of Social Ethics

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FOREWORD

THIS booklet was written in response to the many requests made by my students and sympathetic listeners attending my classes and lectures. It contains a series of articles illustrating certain phases of our economic and social system and its glaring contradictions.

In no sense should these articles be considered an addition to the multitudinous well written and scholarly works on Socialism. Rather do I hope my attempt herein to simplify the truths of the Socialist philosophy and program will in some degree meet the need of reaching the average mind.

In dedicating this little work to my comrade and wife, Hilda G. Claessens, I merely give expression to the fact that without her painstaking help my efforts both in speech and in writing would have fallen far short of the success attained.

AUGUST CLAESSENS.

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LOGIC

"Logic teaches us to reason well," writes Prof. W. S. Jevons. To reason well is to reason carefully, and to reason carefully is to reason scientifically. One of the serious obstacles to the acceleration of social progress is the neglect on the part of most people to exercise the brains they were born with. Whether it possesses great or limited capacity the average mind is capable of immense improvement through constant and careful use.

The first rule in proper thinking is to obtain the facts. After carefully ascertaining whether the facts in the case are truly facts, one should pick them to pieces in painstaking analysis and learn their relationship to other facts. A careful analysis of the facts in a problem leads one to understand its origin and causes. And a knowledge of the causes of a problem generally suggests the way of its solution. But first and foremost get the facts and then draw your own conclusions.

Books, articles and lectures should never be permitted to do the thinking for you. They should only furnish the facts and guide you to proper conclusions. Train your head to behave as your stomach behaves. What wonderful sense a stomach displays! No human stomach will retain food that some other fellow has digested. It would immediately vomit such a fare out of its territory with speed and dispatch. Our brains are less discriminating and tasteful in absorbing their food. The average man's mind has as little sense of selection as a garbage can.

The plague of our age is not illiteracy but the literacy of the masses. It enables their lazy minds to obtain with little effort the pre-digested knowledge and conclusions of our writers, editors and speakers. This is evidently the fact Buckle had in mind when he complained that the invention of the printing press and the increasing ability to read brought with it a greater general ignorance.

We must, however, take conditions as we find them and make the best use of our opportunities. The ability to read must be trained to read carefully. And we must reason well in matters that concern our every day life and well being.

The logic of Socialism is the product of a well reasoned understanding of cause and effect in present day economic and social problems. That is why it is generally so difficult for the opponents of Socialism to get the best of the argument.

The logic of Socialism is the torch that illuminates the hopes of ever increasing millions of toilers the world over and the path to a more civilized society.

Jevons, concluding the thought and the sentence, writes: "and reasoning well gives us knowledge, and knowledge, as Lord Bacon said, is power."

THE POWER OF KNOWLEDGE

The subjugation of multitudes by the power of tyrants is the story of the history of the ancient and medieval worlds. The tyrants were always few and the people many. And the few wielded the scourge over the many.

That amazing spectacle is still with us in these modern times. Great millions of working people of this and most other "civilized" nations are held in subjection by a comparatively small class.

The masses are driven into wage slavery, kept in continuous hand to mouth struggle for an existence and are robbed of the best fruits of their labor. And the pity of it all is that the workers seem to be held in a spell of satisfaction and contentment with their abject lot.

Surely, this astonishing state of affairs must have often appealed to the reader's understanding and demanded an explanation.

In numbers the workers are mighty. In numbers lies their great strength. In numbers the exploiters and tormentors are weak. In numbers the wealthy are powerless and easily overwhelmed.

In numbers the workingclass is the "whole cheese." But in the knowledge of their power, in the consciousness of their might, in the intelligence of their right, they are the hole in the cheese.

The capitalists and profiteers are so few in numbers in contrast to the great mass of the toilers. But while the slave drivers are few and weak in numbers, their great strength lies in their possession of knowledge and intelligence. Not that they always personally possess these talents. No, great Gods, no! But their money, their lucre, their thirty pieces of silver buys almost everything including brains. Not every brain, thanks to our luck, but many brains surely. They purchase the talents of writers, editors, educators, speakers and preachers. They own the great newspapers and periodicals. Through these they own the forces that mold public opinion. In fact they manufacture the opinion for the public. The capitalist and ruling classes purchase every mental prostitute on the market. Cheap or expensive, they buy all of them. And why? Because the usurpers of wealth realize the power of knowledge; the influence of intelligence. They KNOW that knowledge is power, and power is might, and might makes right.

For an illustration, look at the elephant in the circus. See how that monstrous animal is led into the ring and made to perform his tricks. A puny insect of a man masters this mountain of bone, muscle and flesh. What an amazing spectacle! With one sweep of his trunk the elephant could fling his tormentor into oblivion. One stamp of his great foot would squash his trainer into pulp. The brute needs but to roll over on his subjector and only a grease spot would remain of the departed. But this colossus is harassed, bulldozed and tamed like a docile poodle. What an astonishing sight!

What is the difference between the man and the elephant? What is the determining and decisive factor? Is it bulk and weight? Surely not. Is it strength? Decidedly no. It is brains, knowledge and intelligence. And now look back, reflect, on the position of the wage workers and their subjugation to the possessing classes. The elephant is helpless. Nature limited him in intellectual capacity. But are the workers in like condition?

Generally speaking, what is good tactic for the bosses is good for the slaves. No greater teacher is there than example. The first thing the workers must obtain is knowledge; knowledge of their weakness and subjection; knowledge of their latent strength; knowledge of their power and duty to end the class conflict and the existence of class divisions; knowledge of the truth and the justice of the demand, that wealth and the enjoyment thereof belongs to the producers and to them only.

Not only power but an intelligent use of it, is the prime need of the workers. Efficiently organized political, industrial and co-operative movements breed a consciousness of their great power. In a word, class consciousness. When the laboring classes obtain this knowledge they will have power. And with power will come might. And might makes right.

Verily, the day must come when right will make might. Unfortunately that day is yet in the distant future. In our present day world, might still makes right. Consequently the working class **MUST** secure **MIGHT**. And when they have might they can make things right.

WHO'S CRAZY?

Now let us take a few examples of our illogical social environment and analyse them in the light of the logic of Socialism. To begin with: who's crazy?

A popular pastime among "Smart Alecks" is to show their attitude towards Socialists by the suggestion that they

are insane. A rotary movement of the forefinger by the side of the head is the significant description. Socialists are bugs, nuts, etc. As an argument this signalling is very conclusive to the average ignoramus.

Probably the inference that Socialists are crazy is not so insulting after all. Let us see. Maybe it's the reflection of our "sane" social system. Take for an example an insane asylum. Consider the status and welfare of its inmates with those of the outside world. Did you ever hear of an inmate of an insane asylum worrying about the high cost of living? The sane folks on the outside fret and suffer in that nerve-wrecking pursuit. Are lunatics and imbeciles robbed by landlords, gouged by heaven-soaring rents, plagued by the constant fear of dispossession and the hunting for new quarters? No—not lunatics and imbeciles! These are the problems and agonies of the sane. Are the mentally deranged troubled with the fear of losing a job or getting fired? No, Aleck, such worries are the property of the mentally sound only. And who ever heard of a lunatic in an asylum hunting for a job? Why, such a display of sanity would lead to his immediate discharge. It would be absolute evidence that he is cured. He would belong to the outside.

And yet observe the antics of the sane in periods of unemployment so frequent under our "sane and orderly" capitalist system. In times of panic and industrial depression hundreds of thousands and often millions of workers straggle from factory gate to factory gate vainly hunting for work. Driven by the lash of hunger, haunted by the spectacle of household effects piled upon the sidewalk, wife and children huddled alongside and rain, or snow and sleet spreading ruin and illness upon them. Often a worker's mind gives way under such a fearful strain and society at last takes recognition of him. He is crazy now. His personal problem in the struggle for existence is solved. Away with him to the asylum! There he finds a haven of rest, comfort and security. The surroundings and companionship are far from cheerful, truly, but many of his troubles

are over. No more worry over the increasing cost of living. No more landlords, high rents and dispossession. No more danger of being fired, locked out or on strike. No more roaming the streets looking for a job, and like a hungry wolf fighting the pack for a morsel of food. The asylum doors slamming behind him shuts out all that crazy world and flings him among its frightful products. But here at least, better than he had, is rest, comfort and plenty.

Mr. Smart Aleck never considers these facts. He does not see the insanity of our industrial system. On the one hand abundance is created and on the other a pitiful struggle for a bare existence is the reward for its creators. "Produce more! Produce more!" cry the capitalists. And then, after the workers have labored hard and produced more, the capitalists say: "Now quit, we have too much stock on hand. You are laid off. We will send for you when we need you again." Then go home and break the news to your family. Begin again the chase for a job. Hate the poor sucker who gets one before you. Worry and starve until your wits give way.

If the folks on the outside of the asylum were as sure of their food, clothing and shelter, as secure in struggle for existence, as those within the asylum, there surely would be fewer inmates and fewer asylums on earth.

To dream, talk, and work for a system of society, wherein the industries of the land would be the collective property of the people; wherein every able-bodied adult would be obligated to work; wherein the hours of toil would be regulated by the total amount of produce needed to maintain the health, comfort, and happiness of the whole people; and wherein our forces of production and distribution would be systematized on the order of social justice and equity—the ushering in of the Socialist system of co-operation and the full value as the reward of toil—such an ideal and program is the insanity our Aleck derides.

Who's crazy? Well, if the Socialist is, then he is a compliment to our wonderfully "sane" world. And smart Aleck seems to stand the strain with immunity.

But, fellow workers, let him laugh, ridicule, deride, and make his "funny" remarks. The sooner the world catches our "insanity" the sooner will it recover from its nightmare of contradictions.

SANITY AND SANITARIUMS

Let us follow the evidence of our social "sanity" into another instructive field.

Have you ever noticed what a cheerful, restful and beautiful place the average tuberculosis sanitarium is? As a rule it is situated in the mountainous country. The dry air, clean of smoke, dust, gases, and putrid odors, is sweetened and invigorated with fragrance of pine, balsam, and wild flowers. Rest and plenty of life's needs and comfort is secured to the patient. Much of his pain is relieved by the charm of rolling hillsides, motley carpeted valleys, and cool and inviting woodlands.

A splendid vacation awaits you, fellow workers. Most every one of you has an opportunity. But your passport, your railroad ticket, your card of admission must be conclusive evidence of your possession of tuberculosis! Were it not a horrible tragedy one would be tempted to entitle this detail of our crazy social system a satirical comedy, wherein grim humor stalks leaving gory foot tracks across the stage of life.

What is consumption? The medical fraternity calls it a germ disease. Multitudes of tuberculosis germs reside in the bodies of all of us but thanks to fortunate circumstances, luck, or our able powers of resistance, most of us escape the scourges of the white plague. The encouraging and helpful friends of this dreaded malady, we are informed, are fourfold: namely, impure air; under nourishment; overwork, and too much worry.

Notice, kind reader, these conditions are all neighbors of the working class. Declare your solidarity with these

foes of good health and an industrious union of tuberculosis germs will expropriate your lungs. And once you catch consumption, away with you to the mountains! Now you are an object of social attention and responsibility.

Now society recognizes you, though it never before seemed to know or care whether you ever existed nor how. The conditions surrounding you that breed consumption are ignored by most people in our "safe and sane" order of modern civilization. But as soon as the disease wrestles with your existence, society frantically strives to rescue you from its strangle hold. Lucky fellow, you are hurried away to the luxury of a health resort up in the mountains, amid forests and lakes, and (the irony of it all) often close to the haunts of the wealthy.

And the cure! How ludicrously simple! Medicinal and surgical arts play a minor role in the treatment. The cure is effected (if you are not too far gone) by the simple application of common sense and nature's demands. Good air, plenty of sunshine, no over-exertion, good food, and little to worry about, all these are the ingredients of the prescription. But, you poor fish, if you had had these things before you caught consumption you would have probably never got it.

Sanity and Sanitariums are an inconsistent combination. If sanity would prevail as the normal social consciousness, sanitariums would lose their prominence. Tuberculosis, like typhus, malaria, smallpox and many other diseases, are not due to individual negligence as much as they are products of social short-sightedness.

Socialism is the doctrine of social responsibility. The application of common sense to social problems would eliminate much unnecessary suffering and preventable disease. An awakened and classless society substituting the principle of co-operation for the present system of competition and profiteering, must establish a state of social sanity. Factories and mills must be segregated beyond the immediate vicinity of human habitation. Ample space between house

and house, trees, shrubs and flower beds are an absolute need.

Plenty of sunshine and pure air must be permitted to flood the atmosphere in and around our dwellings. One ugly tenement here and there may be allowed to remain (uninhabited, of course) as a relic and a monument to the barbarism and stupidity of a passing age. Overwork and under nourishment are unthinkable possibilities in a co-operative commonwealth. Anxiety and nerve-wrecking worries can be reduced to a minimum, once economic security becomes the aim and object of social effort.

PROFITEERING

Since we mentioned profiteering, we might as well commence the analysis of the present system by examining this phase of its insanity.

In the last few years the term profiteering has come into great popularity. So frequent is its use as a general denunciation that one is led to believe profiteering is distinctly and exclusively a war product. But is that true? Or is profiteering merely an aggravated variety of an old acquaintance?

From its birth to the height of its glory, students and critics of capitalist production have pointed out that the sole determining motive for the production of wealth in our industrial system is profit. Practically nothing is manufactured for human use and the satisfaction of our needs. To a superficial observer this statement may ring false. Just a trifle more than a casual attempt at an analysis and understanding must reveal the truth of the description: wealth is produced today primarily for profit.

Most homes are not built for habitation. If they were, they would be erected substantially, in pleasing surrounding, in artistic outline (not necessarily luxurious), and in comfortable proportion. Modern improvements, the re-

sult of modern invention, skill and ordinary labor should surely attend to enjoyment of all. But no, business for profits demands its toll. Slap some boards together, ram in some nails, smear on some cheap paint and sell them for "all the traffic will bear." If the houses don't collapse or the wind carry them away before you sell them, you need not worry what happens after.

Clothing, hats and shoes are not designed for health and comfort nor made for wear and durability. These elementary needs are of little significance in the process of modern manufacture, except for the demands of the wise or the well-to-do. "Make money" is the siren call of commerce. "Rake in the kale," shouts the debauchery of profiteering. Adulterate the food, gamble and speculate with the prime needs of life, store and hoard it until it rots, destroy the over-abundance and never mind if dire need and starvation face the population. Cheapen the price of food and permit its consumption only when it is conducive to the making of profits. This is the program, ethic and philosophy of capitalism.

No railroad, trolley or steamship is run, no coal is mined, no oil is pumped, no wood is cut unless it will bring handsome returns for somebody. Almost all human energy, skill and ingenuity is consecrated to the Moloch of profit. Profit is the foundation and cornerstone of our industrial and commercial world. Precious little exchange in man's marvelous achievements is transacted beyond the sphere of cold mercenary calculation. And yet that very precious little is both evidence of the economic salvation of the race and the firmament upon which must be built the future state of social advancement and justice.

The denunciation of greed, the vilification of human nature, the bitter cries and calls for punishment and retribution accomplishes very little good. Imprisoning or hanging the profiteer is no remedy. Those who believe and argue to the contrary are often mistaken for Socialists, but the slightest knowledge of Socialism is sufficient to dispel such ignorant raving.

The individual is largely a product of his environment and much of his conduct and behavior is the reflex of the peculiar method of getting a living in a particular stage of society. The profiteer is but the brilliant bloom of the soil, root, stalk and plant of our pernicious profit system—capitalism.

Those who call loudest for the chastisement and imprisonment of profiteers are generally those whose opportunity to profiteer for themselves is frustrated by the lack of money and advantage. Practically everybody will profiteer if they have a chance, and we Socialists are the last to blame or denounce them. Under the present "dog eat dog," "each for himself and the devil take the hindmost" system of social relationship it is a case of either skin or be skinned. Any sensible being knows that it is better to be one of the respectable and publicly honored robber class than to be one of the contemptible "failures"—the robbed.

Our moral philosophy bids us "do unto others as you would have others do unto you." But our moral philosophers and teachers staunchly support and participate in the game of "do others before they do you" and "get all you can and can all you get." And the great masses blindly acclaim and vote for the continuance of the whole damnable profit system and its moral hypocrisy.

The Socialist directs attention to the fact that no lack of individual participation in the game would help to end it. No punishment of either the worst or the least offending profiteer would relieve the problem. No amount of preaching or moralizing will cure the cancer.

The profit system goes to the roots of society and infects its entire body. A fundamental industrial and social change is necessary for its abolition.

THE SOLUTION FOR PROFITEERING

One of the inevitable effects of the industrial and social changes that Socialism proposes, will undoubtedly be the solution of the problem of profits and profiteering. Many well-meaning folks scout this intention and are skeptical as to whether profit can be totally eliminated from the exchange of human activities. The argument is frequently met with, that the pursuit of profit is an element of human nature and that it has been with us ever since Adam's dog was a pup. Furthermore, we are informed, social intercourse without profits is but a dream—an impossibility.

Socialism as a science reasons from cause to effect. An understanding of any social ill must logically unfold its nature and cause, and must clearly suggest the course for its removal. Society is in constant motion of change and progress. Social evolution, its driving power, produces infinitely more rapid changes than evolution in any other phase of nature. Every social system carries over in its development vestiges of past stages of civilization. And in every phase or period of society there are distinctly visible the beginnings that develop into the constituents of the life and character of the next social order. Let us see whether we can simplify this lesson in sociology.

Careful observation will show that much progress has already been made in the direction of socialization. Collective ownership, the production of goods for use instead of for profits, the distribution of wealth and service according to the needs of mankind, all these ideals of the program of Socialism are part and parcel of some phases of our capitalist society.

As an illustration, take our streets, county and state roads. Highways at one time were as a rule privately owned. Toll roads and toll bridges—left-overs of the passed phase of society—are still to be seen here and there in parts of the country though they are rapidly disappearing. The general custom today is to publicly build and maintain streets and

highways and grant their use to everyone. Strange, isn't it, that profiteering does not obtain here! However, streets, roads and highways are rather antiquated and secondary avenues of social intercourse in these modern days of speed and hustle. The arteries and veins of our social body that carry the very blood of the nation are the trolleys, buses, railroads, steamships, etc. These means of locomotion, the highways of the Twentieth Century, are in the possession of private monopoly and are not operated for the use and convenience of the public, primarily, but for dividends and the enrichment of a few. Just as toll roads and bridges have passed, or are passing, out of the realm of profit making, so too, social progress demands the enactment of the same solution for our modern means of transportation.

Parks are most everywhere publicly owned, maintained and enjoyed. Would it not seem ridiculous to see parks privately owned, and toll gates at which one would be charged a fee to enter and obtain a breath of invigorated air? Thank your good fortune, parks are socially owned utilities, freely offered to the enjoyment of all. But how about our homes, flats and apartment houses. Are not these also social utilities? Evidently not, for we serenely permit our means of habitation to be the objects of speculation and rent profiteering.

The water supply in most communities is also collectively owned and maintained, and is furnished to us according to our needs. Water is a prime necessity, notwithstanding the objections of our anti-prohibition friends. But how about milk? Is not this liquid also a great public necessity? One would not believe it so, comparing the commerce of milk with that of water. The majority of two-legged short-eared asses in this land, who would not tolerate a private monopoly in water, support and vote for the continuation of a Milk Trust, which milks both the farmer and the public to the tune of millions of dollars of easy profits each year.

Most schools and libraries are public property today.

What a howl of indignation would greet one having the audacity to suggest the inclusion of these institutions in our profit system. And yet not so long ago, schools and libraries were private concerns. One of the financial problems and worries of our great grandparents was to obtain an education for their children. That problem is practically solved and that worry is almost abolished. The schooling of the children of even the most shiftless and indifferent of parents is provided for. Education (with the exception of the higher, and technical classes) is today a social responsibility. Elementary education is provided for every child in most parts of our land and is made compulsory. This principle, undoubtedly, will soon be enforced throughout the nation, and eventually it must include advanced and technical tuition as well. Compensation and other state aid should be given to families who can ill afford the loss of the wage-earning power of their grown youngsters. Society would then reap the full harvest of its intelligent investment.

Education is food for the brain, and so naturally and logically it must be within the reach of all. And furthermore, it must be made compulsory for those who are too ignorant to appreciate its value. But how about meat, bread, vegetables, etc? Nonsense, my child, these things are not food for the brain. These are food for the stomach. And that alters the case entirely! Let the gamblers, hoarders, speculators and profit mongers profiteer, juggle, gamble, hoard, speculate and destroy these necessities. One must not even question the rules of the profiteering game for fear of being classified with the "atheistic, home-destroying, free loving, nation-wrecking unpatriotic bunch of Bolsheviks." Our "safe and sane" conservative votes to preserve the profit system but would not for a moment consider the same system applied to our schools and libraries. And that is an inspiring attitude. At least in our publicly owned libraries he can freely secure, according to his needs, numberless books that logically annihilate the crazy profit

system, and at the same time hold up the mirror to his colossal stupidity in supporting and voting to continue it.

And last, consider the Post Office and the Fire Department. The latter is a most remarkable example of socialization. No defender of the profit system would ever even think of permitting the private ownership of the Fire Department. Imagine, can you, this institution privately owned and operated for profit? Surely, every person in the community would be at the mercy of such a concern. From the earliest times down to the present day, the work of fire extinguishing has been made a communal undertaking. The welfare and safety of all depends upon the welfare and safety of even the most insignificant one. In the matter of protection against fire the elemental common sense of mankind discovered this truth long ago. The present day efficiency of the Fire Department is a marvelous example of social service without profit.

All of these illustrations are but evidence of newer social forms developing within the old system. These collective institutions, heralds of a coming civilization, are constantly multiplying in number and are extending their scope and influence. Socialism is the inevitable outcome of social progress. The contradictions inherent in our profit system are gradually being displaced by the seedlings and roots of the next social order. The Socialists are organizing the forces of labor to fertilize and hasten this growth.

Land, natural resources, railroads, factories, food, clothing and shelter must become the collective concern of the people. Things socially necessary must be socially owned and operated. You need not have to change "human nature" to accomplish a solution for profiteering. All that is required is the reduction of the general ignorance of the masses and the cultivation of ordinary horse-sense and social intelligence.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

One of the most prominent features of our unsocial society is what the Socialists name the class struggle. It is by far the most glaring symptom of our insane system! Let us describe it in detail.

Many kind hearted, humanity loving folks often criticize the Socialists for their exclusive devotion to the cause and interests of the working class. "Why do you Socialists constantly emphasize the problems and needs of the working people only?" protests our amiable humanitarian friends. "Why don't you broaden your appeal and program to the interests of the whole people, the public?" asks our broad-minded, non-partisan and liberal reformer. The Socialist frankly asks, "The identity of interests of the whole people, the public—is there such an animal?" True, there are certain interests in matters of health and deportment which concern all classes in society in equal proportion. What the Socialist specifically refers to in his derision of the idea of the identity of interests of the whole people is the fact that in a society sharply divided along class lines the term "public" is a misnomer. Social concern, responsibility and co-operation towards the common welfare of all plays a very minor role in our capitalist system, with its competitive and destructive regime and its bitter social antagonisms. In the classless society Socialism would make possible, there would be an economic and social interest mutual to all.

Only a few short-sighted ignoramuses deny the existence of classes in present day society. The language of our time abounds with names and phrases descriptive of class identifications. We speak of capital, capitalists, landowners, bankers, financiers, magnates, employers, bosses, bourgeoisie, "the owning class," "those who have," "society," "the upper four hundred," "the best people of the town." Only an idiot would apply these terms to all of the people. We also speak of labor, laborers, mechanics, working people, wage-earners, employees, tenants, "the producing class,"

"the proletariat," "the propertyless," "those who have not," and "the common people." What fool would identify the interests of this group with the afore-mentioned gentry, the blest by fortune and the lords of creation? That class divisions and class conflicts exist is obvious to any honest and even semi-intelligent being. For the sake of simplicity we shall concentrate all these various names and phrases to the commonly understood division of society into two classes: the capitalists and the working class.

Much confusion is found in the minds of many as to their position in this classification. Not much of it, surely, among the capitalists. They usually have no misgivings in this matter. The bourgeoisie know what class they belong to and very rarely nominate themselves members of the working class. It is the many members of the working class that get mixed up in this state of affairs and often get themselves into the wrong stall in our social stable. Let us try to remove this confusion.

What is the chief characteristic of a member of the working class? It is found in the fact that the main source of his income is derived from the sale of his services, his labor-power. He may own the home in which he lives, the land upon which it stands, and he may also possess some hundred dollars and draw interest from them, and he may even own some bonds, stock or a lot or two, purchased on the instalment plan. All these possessions hardly place him into the capitalist class. If the largest portion of his living expense is obtained through wages or salary earned, he belongs to the wage-earning class, regardless of his property or his opinions. The worker exists by the SALE of his brain or muscle power.

A capitalist is one who BUYS labor-power as a means of getting an income. This is his chief characteristic and the foundation of his welfare. The capitalist may himself labor and work long hours and harder than his employees. He may cheerfully classify himself as a worker. That is his privilege. But his standing and power in the commun-

ity does not come from his own efforts. Only in the most exceptional case may a capitalist be a genius or a man of great ability and part of his income the reward for his talents. However, as a rule his wealth and power is obtained from the profits made through the purchase of the brain and muscle of others. The capitalist **BUYS** labor-power for a living and the workers **SELL** labor-power for a living. Scott Nearing writes of two kinds of income, service income and property income. The source of income obtained is a very clear indication of the class an individual is part of.

In some instances both of these incomes, service income and property income, in somewhat equal proportion are found in the possession of a number of persons. These people constitute the class commonly known as the middle class, and is composed of small merchants, storekeepers, some professionals, superintendents, managers and a considerable number of the farming class. In brief, the middle class consists of persons who derive income from their own labor and also receive an additional income from property owned or from the hiring and exploitation of the labor of others. This middle class, cursed by its dual personality and bewitched by its conflicting class interests, is appropriately named "the muddle class." Between the upper grindstone, big business, and the lower, the laboring masses, our middle class is in a devil of a fix. In its struggles it often sides with one and then the other class and finds no true nor stable position in the fury of the great warfare between the dominant classes in modern society; the capitalist and working classes.

As we have said, one class buys labor-power and the other sells labor-power. Naturally the one who buys wants to buy as cheaply as possible. The one who sells demands the highest price the market will bring. It is to the interest of every capitalist to buy labor-power as cheaply as he can and work his slaves to the limit of their energy and the power of their resistance. And you can not blame the boss for this. The intelligent worker will sell his energy and

skill for as much as he can get and he will give as little of his life as he possibly can. And you can not blame the worker for this. Here, then, is a distinct clash of interests, a struggle between two contending classes for a living. This conflict the Socialist names the class struggle.

Our humanitarian friends often accuse the Socialist of stimulating or creating the class struggle. This lunacy is much like that of some folk who blame the weather bureau for the bad weather it predicts. Socialists are not responsible for the class struggle. If every Socialist would die tomorrow and every Socialist book, pamphlet and paper were to disappear from the earth, the conflict of classes and all its bitterness and violence would still be with us. Socialism merely draws the attention of society to the existence of this struggle and demands its speedy ending. Socialists loathe and despise the class struggle with all the feeling inherent in sensitive and peace loving souls. Like the humanitarian, we, too, desire a world of co-operation and brotherhood. But we realize that the lion and the lamb can not lie down together as long as lions are not vegetarians. One can not sincerely be impartial in a reign of injustice. Only a complacent dreamer can ignore the realities of the struggle for existence. Any honest person must take sides in this combat. He must ally himself with one or the other class. The Socialist stands squarely by the side of the working class. Strange to say, the amiable compromisers and pacifiers are almost invariably found on the side of the capitalists in the class warfare, either actively or in the role of apologetic defenders of capitalism.

There is still another and a more important reason why Socialism espouses the cause of the workers in the class struggle. Let us use a rather crude but simple illustration. The average dog has fleas. These insects get their living off the dog. Some "phoolosophers" argue that fleas are necessary to the dog's health. "They give him exercise and something to scratch for." "Without fleas the dog would get so lazy and indolent that over-fattening and other complaints would surely endanger his existence." But the stren-

uous reception our dog lends to his fleas leads one to believe that an annulment of this partnership would improve the happiness of the dog.

The fleas, however, are perfectly satisfied with the dog, and naturally so. They get their breakfast, dinner, supper, playground and sleeping quarters on the dog. They would not leave him for a farm. It may, however, happen that some one flea may at some time climb out on the end of the dog's tail and say to himself, "I have lived on this pup long enough. I have given him many a sleepless night and have fattened at his expense. As a conscientious objector, I shall quit. Good-bye, my benefactor." Such an event may happen. But that flea is either an idealist or a crazy kind of a bug. If ever a divorce is effected among dogs and fleas, depend upon it, it will not be the fleas that will sue for the separation.

In human society there are also parasites. A parasite is one who lives upon another. Even the most conservative sociologists agree that many of the absentee landowning, banking and stockholding capitalists are pure and simple parasites. These noblemen exhibit much the same psychology as that of the fleas. They are perfectly satisfied with the capitalist system and things as they are. They don't want any change. The capitalists do not want Socialism any more than rheumatism. You may, possibly, find a capitalist now and then like our idealistic flea who will abdicate. But, folks, remember, one swallow does not make a drunk!

When the divorce comes between the workers and the capitalists, the producers and the idlers, surely it will not be the parasites who will institute the proceedings. Logically it is to the interests of the robbed to end the robbery. It is the task and the mission of the working class to end the class struggle, and to usher in the next phase of civilization, wherein all shall work and all shall enjoy the fruit of their toil.

WHAT SOCIALISM IS

We shall begin this chapter with a definition. "Socialism is the philosophy of a movement on the part of the working class towards the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution and a substitution for this system of society, a new social order wherein these things will be collectively owned and democratically managed."

This, like most definitions is a perfectly meaningless conglomeration of words that beg for further explanation. Definitions, as a rule, are compact and handy instruments provided one understands the subject. But for the uninformed it is absolutely necessary to define the definition. We shall, therefore, pick it apart and elucidate each word and phrase.

For the sake of simplification we shall say that a philosophy consists of a collection of ideas, opinions or views on any phase of existence that gives an individual or a group of individuals a viewpoint, an outlook or a method of interpreting phenomena. A movement consists of an organized mass of people heading in a certain direction and aiming to achieve a certain goal. Socialism, then, is the viewpoint of an organized mass on the part of, and in behalf, of the workingclass towards the achievement of a better form of social relationship. To obtain this goal the Socialist movement demands the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution.

The means of production include all those things necessary in the process of creating, making, manufacturing or producing wealth, the sum and substance of life's needs, food, clothing and shelter. Land, natural resources, water power, mines, tools, inventions, machinery, mills and factories are the principle means of production.

The means of distribution include all those things and processes requisite for the transportation, exchange and

distribution of wealth from the source of production to the hands of the consumer. Railroads, trolleys, express companies, mail order concerns, steamships, barges, warehouses, storage plants, banks, department and retail stores are the principal means of distribution.

There are other means, difficult for correct classification, that exhibit features of both the means of production and distribution in one and the same undertaking. The facilities of public service, water, heat, light and power plants are such. Also the means of communication, the telegraph, wireless, cable, telephone and the means of accommodation, the hotels, restaurants, the apartment and tenement houses in our cities. In a still wider circle there are included the means to education, art and recreation, such as special schools, conservatories, opera houses, theatres, resorts, etc. In brief, all those establishments that cater to the common needs and the full satisfaction of human desires constitute the means of production and distribution.

In present day society these means are generally owned by private interests and are operated for the enhancement of the fortunes of a privileged few. The means of production and distribution are in their very nature social utilities. The prime needs of mankind depend on their continuous and efficient operation and service. The possession of these social necessities in the hands of a few is a powerful source of exploitation and a menace to the welfare of nations.

Furthermore, the great mass of toilers of brawn and brain whose livelihood depends upon the jobs and opportunities owned by the possessing class are enslaved by a new and a more efficient form of slavery. This modern form is known as wage-slavery. In the days of chattel slavery the master owned the slave and the products he made. Under the capitalist system the masters do not own the bodies of their slaves. The worker is a free man! But they who own the means by which one must toil and live practically own the toiler too.

In the preceding chapter we condensed all the various

names and terms of modern social classes in the simple classification—the capitalist class and the working class. For the sake of even further simplification we can speak of these classes as: the tool owners and the tool users. A hundred or more years ago there could have been made no such distinction, for those who owned the tools generally used them, and they who used them generally owned them.

Today one class owns the tools but does not use them. Another class uses the tools but does not own them. The means of production and distribution are the tools of the Twentieth Century. And they are gigantic instruments and machines, costly and enormous in proportion to the simple and inexpensive tools of by-gone times.

The class that owns the tools, the jobs, opportunities and necessities upon which the rest of us depend becomes the master and slave-owning class of our period. All society is forced to pay tribute to this oligarchy. This tribute accumulates into millions and billions and the flower and fruit of capitalism develops into millionaires and billionaires on the one hand and an impoverished, struggling and exploited mass of workers on the other.

To end this social injustice, to eradicate this contradiction in social progress, to eliminate these unjustifiable extremes of immense wealth on the one side and the pitiful hand-to-mouth existence on the other, to enable society to fully extend to the gratification of all its members the benefits of modern industry and technical progress so that every addition to the wealth producing power of mankind shall accrue to the comfort and happiness of all: that is the aim and object in the proposal of Socialism.

Socialism demands the abolition of the private ownership of the means of production and distribution; and the substitution for this system a social order wherein these things, socially necessary, shall be collectively owned and operated for the use of society instead of for the enrichment of a few.

SOCIALISM AND GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP

Socialism demands something more than mere social ownership of public utilities. There is an important distinction between Socialism and national, state and municipal ownership in their present day status. This distinction exhibits itself in three prominent phases.

Firstly, Socialism proposes the common ownership of ALL things collectively used. Socialism demands an uncompromising and unconditional surrender of ALL social utilities into the possession of society. Government ownership, as popularly understood and accepted, has no such object.

The gradual introduction of government ownership is generally sanctioned by the large and well-paying propertied interests, and it has the beneficent effect of eliminating certain competing and annoying parasites that prey upon the larger combines of wealth.

Government ownership often comes as a timely rescue for certain corporations whose stock and property has been watered and exploited to a state of bankruptcy. But a too rapid application of socialization is extremely obnoxious to the upholders of the doctrine of the sacredness of private property. The large and profitable industrial concerns will surrender their powerful privileges inch by inch only in the face of the rising tide of Socialism.

The extension of the parcel post, the nationalization of railroads and forest preserves, the government development of waterways, irrigation and water-power advantages generally *redounds* to the increased wealth of the owners of the great trusts and monopolies. True, there is also a large public benefit in these public enterprises, but what the public receives is immensely overbalanced by the riches that flow into the pockets of the plutocrats.

Furthermore, in the nations of the world where the capitalist system prospers, the governments, or, more correctly,

the power behind the throne, is in the hands of the capitalist class. This fact stands forth most conspicuously, and this is what is meant in the Socialist dictionary by the term "capitalist governments."

The outward form of the government may be an absolute monarchy ruled by a Czar, Sultan or King; or it may be a constitutional monarchy or an advanced republic. But if in that government, regardless of its character or outward form, a comparatively small class own and control the resources and industries of the country, they practically own and control the government.

"But," protests our average citizen, "that may be true of some foreign nations, but surely that is not the case in our government of, for and by the people." And yet, numerous well-informed non-Socialist American publicists have pointed out from time to time that the control of our Federal, State and Municipal administrations is of, for and by the large propertied interests.

The writings of Lincoln Steffens, Frederic C. Howe and Judge Lindsey are illuminating compilations of facts demonstrating the capitalist conquest of government. To quote one of the most prominent authorities on this subject, Woodrow Wilson, in his "The New Freedom," writes:

"The masters of the government of the United States are the combined capitalists and manufacturers of the United States. It is written over every intimate page of the records of Congress; it is written all through the history of conferences at the White House; that the suggestions of economic policy in this country have come from one source, not from many sources. The benevolent guardians, the kind-hearted trustees who have taken the trouble of government offices off our hands, have become so conspicuous that almost anybody can write out a list of them. They have become so conspicuous that their names are mentioned upon almost every political platform. The men who have undertaken the interesting job of taking care of us do not force us to requite them with anonymously directed gratitude. We know them by name.

"Suppose you go to Washington and try to get at your Government you will always find that while you are politely listened to the men really consulted are the men who have the biggest stake—the big bankers, the big manufacturers, the big masters of commerce, the heads of railroad corporations and of steamship corporations.

"I have no objection to these men being consulted because they also, though they do not themselves seem to admit it, are part of the people of the United States, but I do very seriously object to these gentlemen being chiefly consulted and particularly to their being exclusively consulted, for, if the Government of the United States is to do the right thing by the people of the United States it has got to do it directly and not through the intermediation of these gentlemen. Every time it has come to a critical question these gentlemen have been yielded to and followed as a matter of course. * * * *

"The Government of the United States is a foster-child of the special interests. It is not allowed to have a will of its own."

Socialism demands the government ownership of all the resources and industries of the land and their rapid socialization, with the object of totally eliminating the influence of private interests. This is far from the ideal of our government ownership advocates and reformers. These people desire the elimination only of certain private interests and thereby hope to more securely hold the remaining opportunities of profit making.

Secondly, Socialism proposes that the socially necessary enterprises owned and controlled by the people shall be operated for the welfare of all the people and the products and services of these enterprises shall be exchanged at cost. And surely, no society possessing ordinary common sense would fail to reckon as part of the "cost" of any commodity or public service the items of depreciation, wear and tear, and the necessary sinking funds required by the extension and improvement of all undertakings. This is demand-

ed by the progress of industrial evolution and by the logic of the elimination of needless toil.

Government ownership according to the capitalist conception displays many features abhorrent to Socialism. Among some of the dangerous tendencies in the growing acceptance and establishment of government owned utilities is the adoption of the capitalist formula—make money.

Prove to the average property owner that we can reduce his taxes by the operation of "profitable" government ownership and our staunch anti-Socialist friend will enthusiastically assist to sacrifice the business of every one of his competitors. But should you be so indiscreet as to hint to our erstwhile individualist, that his business is also in line for socialization, a howl of righteous indignation will greet your ears and the Spencerian forecast of "The Coming Slavery" will be hurled into your face.

Government ownership that will pay, reduce taxes, and render cheaper service to our business class is the only form of government ownership they will accept.

Socialism will not tolerate the ideal of government ownership under "Business Administration." Converting the state into a labor-exploiting, profit-making institution is the antithesis of the Socialist program. Such a program is labeled "State Capitalism" and sometimes "State Socialism." And the Socialists the world over are opposed to it.

Socialism presupposes the complete abolition of profits and profiteering in private as well as in collective enterprise. It demands the end of capitalist property in the means of production and distribution. Furthermore, Socialism proposes the social ownership, control and operation of these things for use and not for profit, and for the comfort and happiness of all the people.

Thirdly, comes the most important difference between Socialism and government ownership, the question of the control and management of the collectively owned industries. Socialism is keenly sensitive to the criticism that so

correctly warns of the danger of the establishment of a huge tyrannical government bureaucracy, the substitution of a new and a more despotic crowd of slave-drivers in place of the old. This tendency is often so painfully demonstrated in present day government institutions and undertakings. Socialists are the last people in this land to advocate the placing of the industries of the nation into the hands of the politicians.

In most private industries the workers have considerably more freedom than in government departments. In private business the right to organize and strike is generally recognized by law as a defensive right of the toilers in most capitalist countries. But the very intimation of such a contingency on the part of government employes is regarded as absolute evidence of lawlessness and treason. Instances are too numerous and well known in recent times for the need of mentioning specific examples.

The abject slavery of the government employe and the consequent inefficiency and incompetence in many governmental undertakings are facts so well established in the popular mind that one can understand the hesitation and fear most people possess towards the acceptance of Socialism.

The Socialists are well aware of this menace and a fuller understanding of their program and aims will readily dispel this serious objection. Socialism proposes not only the collective ownership of the industries of the land but also their democratic management.

By democratic management is meant the application of the principle of democracy to the workshops. It means a voice and vote on the part of the workers in the operation of a plant, the election of foremen, non-technical supervisors and delegates to the boards of management. The representatives of the workers and heads of departments in conjunction with the delegates representing the public must constitute the directorate of the collectively owned industries.

These proposals no longer belong to the blissful heaven of theories. Hardly a day passes now without the publication of some interesting information of the introduction of democracy in industry both in private and collective concerns in many lands. The wild-eyed schemes of yesterday are eagerly applied as the healing ointment for labor troubles all over the distracted and frantic business world.

Some industrial lords have discovered the well-paying fact that the average worker can contribute excellent suggestions and innovations to the success of the business when his initiative is stimulated by some fraudulent form of industrial democracy. The giving to the workers a voice in the control of the plant, which means a knowledge of the profits, standing and possibilities of the business is also a fruitful source of harmony and peace, for a time.

Of course, the exact details of the plan of the voice and vote of the workers in the management of industry is something that cannot now be described in comprehensive outline. The laborious evolution of human experience and the conflict between failure and success, must work out the structure of industrial democracy as all other problems have been worked out in the history of civilization. The experiments in Soviet Russia and the outcome of the Italian labor struggles will contribute invaluable lessons to the working class in all parts of the world.

As a summary of our analysis, we should understand that Socialism demands the collective ownership of all things socially necessary as a means of abolishing our competitive, wasteful, profiteering and autocratic system of capitalist business.

Socialism plans the reorganization of all human effort towards the solution of the world's pressing problems, such as poverty, unemployment, high prices, strikes, class hatreds and violence.

The elimination of all forms of industrial despotism, including the autocratic control of government departments and undertakings, is the next step in human progress.

The development of the plan and achievement of industrial democracy will arouse in every worker and citizen a sense of social obligation and responsibility. And then must come a fuller appreciation of the maxim: the welfare of the individual depends upon the welfare of the society. And vice versa.

In a few words, Socialism is the economic realization of the ethical ideal of the brotherhood of man.

HOW WE MAY OBTAIN SOCIALISM

"How are you going to get it?" is a very common and sensible question. The answer is not so simple a matter as many folks believe. Great social changes are not dependent upon personal desires nor the schemes of a self-appointed few. The method of obtaining Socialism is the outcome of an understanding of the social forces and tendencies of a given time and not an exact blue-print plan of social salvation. And so a precise and satisfactory answer to the question "how" requires some elaboration.

Just as there is no royal road to victory, so there is no one and only way of getting Socialism. Determining economic, social and political conditions are the stage directors in the play of social progress. The answer to "How we may obtain Socialism?" depends upon our knowledge of how social changes have been and are being achieved.

There are but four methods by which private property has been and is being transferred to the collectivity. These are the processes of compensation, competition, taxation and confiscation. Which is the method and program of Socialism? Definite answers are frequently given by some individual Socialists. But the platform of the Socialist Party is usually silent on this subject. And it will be silent until our growing strength brings us nearer to the realization of our aims.

However, let us analyze the four tried and successful methods of socialization. Through their understanding will come the only possible and reasonable answer to our question.

By compensation is meant the program of purchasing the property of the capitalists with the funds of the State. Most radicals are horrified at the very suggestion of such a scheme. And there is much justification for that feeling.

Many sources of great fortunes such as land, natural resources and railroad grants, are huge slices of our commonwealth given away by our nation when it was young and foolish. By hook or crook our legislatures surrendered this wealth to our financial bandits. To pay the present beneficiaries and receivers of stolen property for its return seems an addition of insult to injury.

And then arises a more conservative question: where is the government going to get the money to buy such immense holdings? That is an easy one. It is very unlikely that any nation would attempt to buy out its entire capitalist class at one stroke. The hesitation danced by our capitalist statesmen to the tune our financiers play settles much doubt on this score. Every indication and tendency shows that the government purchasing capitalist property will be done on a retail scale. Trust our clever politicians, the bankrupt capitalist enterprises will be the first to enter the auction. And many political palms will be greased in the bargain.

Under our Common Law the government has the power of condemnation of any and all parcels of private property. It has the power to raise money for the purchase of anything it requires. Consider the tremendous sums a government can raise for war and destruction. Consider a period of greater social enlightenment and reconstruction. How much easier would it then be to float bonds, real Liberty and Victory Bonds, for the purpose of socializing capitalist property.

"But if you buy out the capitalist class, will you not give birth to a new privileged and wealthy class of bond owners?" Don't worry, Henry, a more sensible application of the graduated income tax would soon reduce that swelling.

Let it be carefully understood, however, that the program of Socialism does not specifically prescribe the method of compensation. That measure is likely to be determined by the conditions of the time and the wishes of the majority. And, furthermore, remember that the ideal of buying out the capitalist may be realized in part when Socialists are yet too weak in numbers and power to do anything else but protest. Capitalists will more cheerfully sell out than lose out, if they have the chance.

Then there is the method of competing an owner out of business. This is also a tried and tested procedure. Our mighty industrial magnates could volunteer much valuable instruction to our government in this matter. And they would instruct with the authority of much experience.

The extension of the Postal Department's activities in the field of Parcels Post and Rural Deliveries has handed the express companies a wallop. The Postal Savings Banks would have done the same thing to the bankers were it not for the tender-hearted interference of the "Bankers' and Business Men's Club"—the United States Senate. Thanks to their aid, thanks to Congress and the President, Parcels Post and the Postal Savings Banks are such feeble competitive concerns. The private express companies and banks can flourish and prosper alongside of our government undertakings and laugh the laughter of ridicule at our national stupidity.

Nevertheless, in many localities the municipalization of public utilities successfully competed the private concerns out of business. But there is a very definite limit to the process of governmental competition. For instance, it is absurd to imagine the government laying tracks beside the Pennsylvania Railroad to compete it out of existence. Or

to duplicate the plant of any large industry with the same object in view.

The scheme of competition as a means of acquiring the business of the capitalists, like the proposal of compensation, will be governed by the exigencies of the time and not according to the desired plan of some reformer.

Taxation as a method of obtaining socialization is so akin to the scheme of confiscation that we may as well lump the two together. Their sting is about the same.

"But," cry our terrified opponents, "do you Socialists advocate confiscation?" Not necessarily, dear friends. We so heartily despise the process of confiscation that we agitate year in and year out for the speedy abolition of the whole capitalist system of wholesale confiscation.

Socialists want to end the confiscation of our land and our natural resources. The exploitation of the farmers and the robbery of the workers of the fruits of their toil. The confiscation of the youth of our million toiling little ones in the mills of our land and the spoliation of the motherhood of our race-creating woman through drudgery and dangerous work. We want to abolish all this confiscation.

If we must imitate the methods of our master class in our effort to usher in the next social order, then at least let us change the label and name the process—restitution. Our aim is not to confiscate but to restore the wealth of the nation to the people of the nation.

Some Socialists may advocate confiscation. Our Republican and Democratic statesmen practice it. The history of our land is replete with notable examples of wholesale confiscation.

The Revolution of 1776 was a grand act of confiscation. That gave us a splendid beginning. The British King, Dukes and Lords were not paid a Dutch nickel for their former possessions.

The Proclamation of Emancipation during the Civil War was the announcement of the second successful experiment in this line. The slave owners were offered payment for their slaves as a peaceful solution of the evil. They refused the bargain. The ruling class is often a careless and stupid crowd. And that fact is also a determining factor in great social changes.

The Republican and Democratic worshippers of the "sacredness of private property" have given us the Income, Inheritance and Corporation Taxes. What charming and peaceful methods of relieving our corpulent financiers of some of their boodle! Thanks for the suggestion.

All forms of taxation are in their nature confiscatory, and yet highly respectable.

And then, last but not least, consider the supposedly sobering amendment of prohibition. Was not that the limit? Could Socialism really go as far as that?

Of course, prohibition is not exactly confiscation. But then, what is it? The government did not take the breweries, distilleries or saloons from their legally protected owners, did it? No. But wherein does prohibition differ from confiscation?

Imagine a case where a murderer was caught red-handed in the act of strangling a victim. Suppose he then confessed that he choked his victim to death. Imagine this criminal pleading not guilty! What an astonished jury there would be if it was confronted with the argument of the learned counsel that the culprit did not kill the man. He simply prohibited his breathing!

It is difficult to say whether the means of production and distribution will be socialized either by compensation, competition, taxation or confiscation. Who knows? The conditions of the time, the temper of the people and the force of expediency will bring forth the method and its successful adoption. All four schemes may have to be resorted to before the job is done.

The biggest question just now is not how are you going to do it, but are we ready to do it? Have we the power and the consent of the majority for the undertaking? Decidedly, no. Not yet. Then the only logical question before us is, when will the people be ready? Once they make up their minds for the task the methods will suggest themselves. An executive committee on behalf of the awakened citizenship can work out the plans in a few days.

As La Fontaine once said: "There are many ways of cooking a wild goose, but first catch one." That is our problem. There are many methods of doing the job. But first we must obtain the consent and the power to do it.

A majority of votes for Socialism, backed up by a determined and class-conscious organization of labor on the industrial field, would soon settle the question of how we may obtain Socialism.

HOW SOON MAY WE GET SOCIALISM?

The answer to the question, "How soon may we get Socialism?" like the answer to the question, "How are you going to get it?" depends very much upon conditions and little upon our impatience.

There are at least three determining circumstances. First, the ripeness of the economic, social and political conditions for the coming of Socialism; second, the will of the majority for it; and third, the influence of great crises in the course of events. Let us elaborate.

Socialism can not be established by a mere flood of propaganda. Certain economic, social and political factors must be ready at hand to form the foundation of its structure. These conditions are discernable in most capitalist countries of modern times. Only in the wildest imagination of the critics of the Socialist philosophy was Socialism ever established in ancient times, in Peru, or in Jamestown, Virginia, in colonial times.

The circumstances that determine the advent of Socialism are numerous and varied. We shall cite the principal ones.

The Industrial Revolution of the early part of the last century laid the foundation of modern capitalism. In turn the present industrial system is unwillingly preparing the reception for its successor, the coming age of Socialism.

The hand tool method of production and the individual and petty ownership of the means of production and distribution gave way to the colossal machines of modern capitalism and the centralization of industry and commerce into the hands of a few millionaires and billionaires.

As a consequence there grew an abject helplessness of the ever increasing mass of toilers of hand and brain whose only means of gaining a livelihood is dependent upon the good graces of the lords of the land, mines, railroads and industries.

The struggle between the hordes of labor and the owners of capital is forming the battle lines in ever larger array, intensity and efficiency for the last and decisive conflict. These tendencies are obvious to even our frantic reformers (chloroformers) who are straining every nerve to stem the tide of the social revolution.

The growing wealth and luxury of the few and the incessant struggle of the many to make ends meet, is a portentous factor.

The gradual surrender of some private enterprises into the possession of the state, and the appearance of a developing social consciousness are vivid evidences of the impending social change.

The constantly narrowing sphere of domestic exploitation and the further investment of surplus capital in the undeveloped parts of the world, along with the struggle

for foreign markets to get rid of our surplus products is another important factor in hastening the grand finale of capitalism. These were the principal forces that brought on the greatest catastrophe in the history of mankind—the late war. It was largely the result of industrial and commercial rivalry among the money powers of the world.

The war has reduced whole nations to a state of bankruptcy and decay. The decomposition is spreading the disease of capitalist annihilation with menacing rapidity from one country to another.

In the conquest of the powers of the state the seemingly divergent political servants of capitalism, the Republican and Democratic parties, are rushing into alliances and combinations wherever the growth of the parties of Socialism and Labor threaten their strongholds.

All these factors are evidence of the senility of an economic, social and political system. Out of the decadent stage of capitalism must come the birth of Socialism.

Soviet Russia is a striking example of the exception to the rule. It skipped a large period of capitalist development and decay. And therein lies its bitter handicap against the odds that frantically seek to destroy it. Communist Hungary was, on the other hand, a pitiful illustration of the truth of our forecast. Conditions were not yet ready. But they soon will be.

The capitalist system the world over is ripe for the change. In our country it is rotten ripe. The rumbling of the social earthquake is heard in every modern nation. And no human power can prevent its coming. It may be obstructed or delayed. But it is on the way.

The second factor is the will of the majority for Socialism. That is not yet expressed in this country. The majority do not as yet want Socialism. Why? Because

they do not know what it is. Our immediate task is to inform them.

Let it be understood, however, that an absolute majority of well-informed people is seldom necessary to inaugurate a social change. Majorities are apathetic. As a rule, a militant well-organized and intelligent minority has always been the driving power in human progress.

The few are generally far ahead of their times and suffer the consequences. A goodly minority is just abreast of the time. And the vast majority is always a half a century behind their times.

When a substantial and determined minority catches up to the opportunities of the day and organizes the sympathy and desires of the masses into an effective movement, history is then in the process of making.

Eventually a majority of votes will be cast for Socialism. A majority of workers will be organized for effective industrial combat and control. And yet many in these majorities will not have a clear conception of the object and aims of the political and industrial movements they become part of.

It is an impossible job to convince everybody, and even most people. This is not necessary. The crowd follows a crowd. Behind the band-wagon of progress the majority follows with enthusiasm. But it takes a long time and much hard work and sacrifice on the part of the minority to get the band-wagon started.

When a healthy sized minority in a country understand the logic of Socialism, and work for Socialism, the majority will soon give their consent for its achievement.

Third and last, is the great factor of economic, social and political crises and their effect in hastening the coming of Socialism. Financial panics, industrial depressions and their great periods of unemployment, are social earthquakes that loosen the old system from its foundations.

Wars have the same effect, particularly in the defeated nations. There they create social and political disturbances that generally result in the obliteration of the old ruling classes. But the victorious nations are not necessarily immune from the same house-cleaning.

The World War was a great social cataclysm. During its first two years it overwhelmed all movements and forces of peaceful social progress. The International Socialist movement suffered a staggering blow. In many nations the Socialists were engulfed in the great chaos. In some countries they still are.

In 1917, a ray of light appeared. Out of the horrible night of the world disaster came the longed-for morning. Over the Ural Mountains in the East came the bright, red dawn of a new day. The rising sun of Russia heralded the ending of the old order of capitalism. Its rays soon became visible in Hungary, Austria, Germany and Czecho-Slovakia. The mist of the fields in these lands is temporarily obscuring the dawn. In Italy, England, Sweden and France, the red-combed cock is also announcing the hour of day-break.

The rapid rise of the labor and Socialist movements of the world is grasping the slipping powers of state in many lands. The greatest period of accelerating progress is now unfolding its astonishing changes every hour before the suffering world.

Socialism is coming, and coming fast. How soon we may obtain Socialism also depends on you. Get off the grand stand and enter the movement. Become a maker of history and not merely a reader of history. And we shall soon attain the conquest of power and the realization of our dreams.

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

The Socialist movement possesses four distinct, though not necessarily separate, phases. In its onward march towards victory it progresses along four broad avenues. The Socialist philosophy embraces all phases of our social life, and the Socialist movement unites and shapes the needs and aspirations of the workers into concrete expression and practical organization.

The four phases of the Socialist movement are found in the economic, co-operative, cultural and political organizations of Labor. Many of these organizations are either directly affiliated with the Socialist Party or avowedly Socialist in their sympathy. Others are organized under various names, and some even disclaim any connection with Socialism. But Socialists are generally the life and guiding power within and behind these organizations.

The Economic Movement

The economic movement is the trade union, or more broadly, the labor movement. Like Socialism, Trade Unionism is a by-product of the capitalist system. They are twins born of the same mother.

The trade unions sprang into existence as a defensive weapon against the aggression of capitalist exploitation. After years of untold sacrifice and bitter persecution, the labor movement eventually assumed the offensive in behalf of the rights of labor and social advancement. It rose through numberless defeats and victories to its present position of power and influence.

The trade union movement reduced the hours of labor. It improved the conditions in the factories and workshops in relation to health and safety. It eliminated in many industries the abuse of child labor and the sweat-shop system. In the needle trades the unions vigorously

combatted the sub-contracting system, which turned, and to some extent is still turning, many a home in our crowded city tenements and in the rural and small town communities, into a source of obtaining cheap and helpless labor. Whole families, including their small children, are pitilessly exploited.

The trade unions became an effective means of obtaining more wages for work delivered, a larger share of the value created. The ever increasing cost of living, however, is making constant inroads upon these wage victories. The trade unions have not successfully resisted the rise of prices in the necessities of life by an adequate rise in wages, nevertheless, they have fought valiantly against great odds. The meager wage increases have at least prevented a lowering in the standard of living.

The trade unions have abolished in some industries the slave driving devices, such as piece work, the bonus system and related methods of intensive exploitation introduced in the name of "Modern efficiency."

The trade unions have very greatly raised the standard of living of the toilers not only in their respective organizations, but their influence has extended into the conditions of the vast unorganized masses. They have elevated the morale, broadened the outlook and brightened the lives of generations of workers.

Of course, the trade union movement developed many defects and reactionary tendencies. Many unions became, and still are, petty job-trusts and sick-and-death benefit lodges instead of fighting machines. With their high initiation fees, restricted membership and the exclusion of women, Negroes and alien workers, some unions have become worthless weapons for the advancement of the interests of the working class.

The undemocratic form of organization has frequently delivered the control of many trade unions into the hands of a corrupt group of politicians and has caused havoc

and ruin in the labor movement. The system of all-powerful business agents (walking delegates) and the general lack of control by the membership over its officials has given opportunity and power to a scheming and despotic gang of grafters, who have again and again sold out the workers into the hands of the masters.

The Socialist in the unions is generally a vitalizing and educating factor. Sometimes he is a verbose and tactless nuisance. But he is seldom found among the unscrupulous betrayers and misleaders of labor.

The Socialist is animated with the vision of ending the class struggle and abolishing the system of wage slavery. And because of his vision, his knowledge and devotion to the cause of labor, he is an inspiration to the rise and dignity of the labor movement and its progress towards the ultimate emancipation of labor.

The Socialist movement gives immeasurable aid to the labor movement. It develops its speakers, organizers and writers. It renders invaluable assistance in the work of organizing the unorganized. It plunges whole-heartedly into every strike and lends financial and moral support to the strikers. The Socialist press, their halls, speakers, lawyers, public officials and writers are at the command and service of the battling toilers. In brief, the Socialist movement enters into the work of labor organization with enthusiasm. It assists the strikers and cheers them on to victory. And it consoles and lightens the shock of defeat.

As an educating influence the Socialist movement teaches the need of greater efficiency in organization. Socialists espouse the industrial form of organization. They mercilessly criticize and battle to destroy the narrow job-trust type of unionism. The Socialist is an enemy of all restrictions in labor organizations that tend to exclude women, aliens and workers of the different races, color and creeds.

The Socialists advance the ideal of a comprehensive form of organization, not along the obsolete lines of craft unionism, but the organization of all the workers within an industry, regardless of craft, skill or non-skill, into an industrial union. And eventually all the industrial unions must be united into a powerful combination of labor, a one big union, instead of an impotent federation of unions, each pulling its own way and serving its narrow, selfish interests.

Socialists demand the curtailment of the employers' right to indiscriminately hire and fire, and the protection of the workers from unemployment during the slack season.

The Socialists encourage the spread of the shop chairman, or shop steward system. The adoption of this system is the first effective step in the direction of abolishing the autocratic power of the employer and the beginning of the democratization of industry. The Socialists believe, and encourage the unionists into the belief, that the ultimate mission and aim of the unions is to prepare themselves for the task of managing and running the industries when they are taken over by society.

Besides criticizing narrow selfishness, high initiation fees, restrictive tendencies, inadequate forms of organization in the labor movement, the Socialist incessantly labors to democratize the unions of to-day. He strives to arouse a greater interest and a sense of responsibility on the part of the membership. This enlightenment goes a long way towards eliminating grafting business agents and corrupt and ignorant officialdom.

The leadership of the unions is after all but a reflex, a photograph, of the membership. No enlightened membership would tolerate an ignorant leadership very long. Instead of abusing the leadership of the unions, the Socialists endeavor to educate the membership. That is why many of the mis-leaders of the labor movement hate the Socialists.

The influence of the Socialist movement upon the labor movement is vividly indicated in the progress of labor in every country. The unions that have kept aloof from this contact are not numbered among the conspicuous and virile unions of the day. The influence of the Socialist movement upon the unions is so strikingly marked that the progressive and efficient organizations of labor are frankly labeled radical or Socialist unions.

It is in this sense that we classify the Labor movement as a phase of the Socialist movement in its march towards the coming civilization.

The Co-operative Movement

The Co-operative movement is still young in this country. But it is growing with remarkable rapidity. In time it will assume the power and influence the great Co-operative movement occupies in European lands.

The co-operative enterprises in both the fields of production and distribution tend to reduce the cost of the necessities of life and to improve the quality of commodities in contrast to the process of capitalist greed and exploitation. But that is by far the minor role the Co-operative movement plays.

One of their great lessons to the world is to demonstrate that an industry can be successfully conducted for the use and satisfaction of the community, instead of for the profits of a few. They teach the gospel of self-reliance to the workers and encourage the acceptance of the ideal of ultimately abolishing all industry for profit.

Furthermore, the co-operatives can and do render valuable aid to the labor unions in their battles against capitalism. In time of strikes and lockouts, they become agencies of relief, untainted with the stigma of arrogant charity—relief that comes from the economy of humanely and justly conducted industries in the hands of the work-

ers themselves. Lastly, the Co-operative movement, when operated under the influence of Socialists, lays aside part of its surplus for the maintenance of labor schools, halls, forums, newspapers and the general activity of Socialist propaganda. Thus, the co-operatives also become a phase of the Socialist and labor movements.

The Cultural Phase

Ignorant discontent is not a fertile ground for the growth of the Socialist movement. Rather is it a fertile source of disorder, riot, and bloodshed. Socialism endeavors to develop an intelligent discontent, a discontent that understands the nature of our problems and the means by which they can be eliminated.

Socialism stimulates a discontent with the present incompetent social order and arouses in the worker a desire to obtain the fullest measure of comfort and happiness the wealth of society can afford to all its members. Most workers, due to their general ignorance and low state of culture, have very limited desires and a narrow outlook upon life. The beauties of nature, the delights of travel and the artistic achievements of the human race have little meaning to them. They pass through life unconscious of most of the good things because they are so engrossed in the pursuit of their elementary needs. And the pity of it all is, their stupid contentment with their miserable lot. They are reconciled to the belief that most pleasures, above the animal phases, belong only to those of the upper classes.

The Socialist movement eradicates this state of mind. In every country it establishes schools, libraries, forums and societies to enhance the physical, mental, and moral welfare of the toiling masses. It brings the arts, sciences, and philosophies, the intellectual joys of mankind, into the monotonous and dreary lives of the working class.

The Rand School of Social Science is one of these Socialist institutions. Its influence in moulding the new psychology of the workers is yet too little recognized by the labor movement of the United States. Its work in the training of thousands of apostles of the coming order of society is slowly being appreciated in many parts of the land.

The reactionary hordes of big business fully understand, a thousand times more fully than do the workers, what a menace the Rand School is to the continued existence of capitalist exploitation. That is why they so frantically attempt to destroy it.

The same is true concerning the Socialist press and other Socialist educational mediums. Every agency of the capitalist class is marshalled to harass and hinder this work. Nevertheless, the Socialist movement grows more invincible from year to year. It holds aloft and carries forward the torch of enlightenment. And it is the one great light that penetrates the gloomy lives of the working class.

The Political Phase

Political action, to the Socialists, is a means to an end. That end is the conquest of the powers of the state to inaugurate the program and ideal of Socialism. In the capture of the State out of the domination of the capitalist class, the Socialists seek to transfer its authority to the workers of hand and brain.

But before the Socialists are in the majority and in full possession of political power, they will have elected numerous officials. They have elected men in many parts of the land. The Socialist Party is a growing minority party.

The work of the Socialists in public office where they have full power in a locality, such as a municipality, is to administer the government primarily to the interests of the workingclass, the great majority of the people.

No sensible person expects Socialism to be established in any single municipality or state. The national character and inter-state nature of most industries makes this venture impossible. The capitalist control of the state and national legislatures and courts also prevents such a scheme, if the Socialists had such plans. But the Socialists fully realize that their program in full can only be applied on a national scale.

Wherever the Socialist officials constitute the minority party, their duty is to present and defend the aims and interests of the workingclass, and to use every opportunity to expose the absurdity and failure of the capitalist parties to serve the interests of "the whole people." In a word, as a minority party, the Socialists are essentially propagandists.

The growth of the Socialist Party, here as elsewhere, is necessarily slow. But it is persistent. It will continue to be so until the Socialist movement gathers more strength and obtains momentum.

In conclusion, let us sum up our description of the four phases of the Socialist movement. The economic phase, the trade-union movement, organizes the workers for industrial defense and prepares the unions for their coming task of managing the socially-owned and controlled industries; the co-operative movement is training the workers in the running of industry without profit and is laying the foundation for the larger Co-operative Commonwealth; the cultural phase develops the desire on the part of the toilers for a more just social order and an equal opportunity to partake in the enjoyment of the intellectual pursuits of society; the political phase, as represented by the Socialist Party, aims to attain the political power by which the program and ideals of the Socialist movement can be fulfilled.

Thus the Socialist movement progresses on towards its goal. You must get into it so that it may move more rapidly. If the logic of Socialism appeals to you join the Socialist Party. Join it at once.

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